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 INFO RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 1163  
 RUMJDK/AMEMBASSY DHAKA 0276  
 RUMJGM/AMEMBASSY COLOMBO 0254  
 RUEHNE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1732  
 RUMJHT/AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU 0428  
 RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1932  
 RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 6398  
 RUEHUL/AMEMBASSY SEOUL 4136  
 RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 5711  
 RUFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1246  
 RUEHAD/USINT BAGHDAD 0082  
 RUEHUB/USINT HAVANA 0159  
 RUMJNG/AMCONSUL HONG KONG 7142  
 RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 2443  
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 C O N F I D E N T I A L BEIJING 13675

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, CH, PK

SUBJECT: PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER YAOUE KHAN'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

REF: 000000

1. (C) - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER YAOUE KHAN'S VISIT, WHILE "ROUTINE," WAS VIEWED BY THE PAKISTANIS AS AN OPPORTUNE TIME TO TALK FRANKLY WITH THEIR CLOSE FRIENDS ABOUT AFGHANISTAN, THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, AND NEW NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOPAKISTANI RELATIONS. PAKISTAN, FOR RECENT YEARS, HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE AREA OF NUCLEAR ENERGY, WHERE PAKISTAN WAS CONCENTRATING ITS EFFORTS. CHINESE AND PAKISTANIS AGREED THAT PROSPECTS ARE NOT GOOD FOR NEXT ROUND OF PROXIMITY TALKS ON AFGHANISTAN GIVEN THE SOVIET HARD LINE ATTITUDE. UN UNDERSECRETARY GENERAL DIEGO CORDOVEZ.

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IN A SIDE MEETING, BRIEFED YAQUB KHAN ON SECRETARY GENERAL PEREZ DE CUELLAR'S TALKS IN MOSCOW; THE PROGNOSIS FOR PROGRESS WAS GRIM. CHINA ASSURED PAKISTAN THAT IT WAS NOT SENDING ARMS TO EITHER SIDE IN THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH NORTH KOREA. PAKISTAN PRESENTED ITS DOWNBEAT ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN INDO-PAKISTANI RELATIONS AND CHINA COMMISERATED THAT IT TOO DID NOT EXPECT MUCH PROGRESS IN POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH INDIA GIVEN MRS. GANDHI'S HARDLINE POLICIES. END SUMMARY.

3. PAKISTANI DCM BRIEFED EMBOFF JULY 31 ON THE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER YAQUB KHAN AND CHINESE LEADERS DURING YAQUB'S FIVE-DAY VISIT TO CHINA. HE SAID THE VISIT WAS "ROUTINE," A RETURN VISIT FOR CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER WU XUEQIAN'S VISIT TO ISLAMABAD LAST JULY. HOWEVER, HE ADDED, IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR AND IN INDO-PAKISTANI RELATIONS, THE VISIT ACQUIRED CONSIDERABLE SIGNIFICANCE. DURING HIS VISIT, THE FOREIGN MINISTER MET WITH PRESIDENT LI XIANNIAN (WHO HAD VISITED PAKISTAN IN MARCH) AND PREMIER ZHAO ZIYANG, AND HAD LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS WITH HIS COUNTERPART, WU XUEQIAN WHILE ENROUTE TO AND FROM THE IMPERIAL SUMMER CAPITAL OF CHENGDE. DENG XIAOPING WAS OUT OF TOWN DURING YAQUB'S VISIT.

## IRAN-IRAQ WAR:

4. YAQUB KHAN BRIEFED WU ON DEVELOPMENTS AT THE ISLAMIC PEACE COMMITTEE MEETING IN JIDDA, FROM WHICH HE HAD JUST RETURNED. HE EXPLAINED THE PAKISTANI VIEW THAT THE LONG-AWAITED IRANIAN OFFENSIVE HAD BEEN PUT OFF BECAUSE OF DIVISION WITHIN IRANIAN RULING CIRCLES ABOUT THE OFFENSIVE'S POTENTIAL FOR SUCCESS. WU SAID CHINA SAW

AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI AS A HARD-LINER PREVENTING A SOLUTION TO THE WAR, AND WAS VERY INTERESTED IN THE PAKISTANI VIEW THAT KHOMEINI IS A PRAGMATIST BALANCING HARD-LINERS AND MODERATES, AND CURRENTLY HOLDING BACK THE HAWKS IN THE GOVERNMENT. WU POINTED OUT THAT THE "SUPERPOWERS" WERE PRESSURING THE REST OF THE WORLD TO CUT OFF ARMS SUPPLIES TO BOTH SIDES IN THE WAR. CHINA, HE SAID, IS NOT SUPPLYING ARMS TO EITHER COUNTRY, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH NORTH KOREA; WU AGREED THERE WAS NO MILITARY SOLUTION POSSIBLE.

## AFGHANISTAN:

5. IN A SIDE MEETING, YAQUB MET DIEGO CORDOVEZ WHO WAS ENROUTE FROM NORTH KOREA TO JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA. CORDOVEZ BRIEFED YAQUB ON HIS RECENT TRIP WITH UN SYG PEREZ DE CUELLAR TO MOSCOW. ACCORDING TO THE PAKISTANI

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DCM, THE SOVIETS WERE NOT FORTHCOMING ON THE QUESTIONS PUT TO THEM BY THE PAKISTANIS, I.E. A TIMETABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL OF USSR FORCES AND A METHOD FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE MUJAHDEEN. THE SOVIETS ARE INSISTING ON A NON-INTERVENTION, NON-INTERFERENCE PLEDGE BY THE PAKISTANIS. CORDOVEZ FOUND A "STIFFENING" OF ATTITUDES IN MOSCOW.

6. WU AGREED WITH THE NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT REPORTED BY CORDOVEZ. HE SAID VICE FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN HAD GOTTEN A SIMILAR IMPRESSION FROM GROMYKO WHEN THEY MET IN MOSCOW EARLIER THIS MONTH; THE SOVIETS WERE NOT WILLING TO SCALE DOWN THEIR DEMANDS ON ANY ISSUE. WU WARNED YAQUB

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THAT PAKISTAN MUST BE VERY CAUTIOUS IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS AND NOT GIVE ANY GUARANTEES TO MOSCOW REGARDING NON-INTERFERENCE UNLESS THE RUSSIANS HAD ALREADY PRESENTED A TIMETABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL. CHINA AND PAKISTAN AGREED THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF A MAJOR CONCESSION BY THE SOVIETS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WU QUOTED GROMYKO AS TELLING QIAN THAT THE USSR DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY CHINA DID NOT APPRECIATE WHY IT IS IN CHINA'S INTEREST AS WELL FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO CONTINUE TO FOLLOW A HARD LINE TOWARD THE U.S. AND JAPAN.

INDIA

7. PAKISTAN BRIEFED ON THE NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN INDO-PAKISTANI RELATIONS RECENTLY, ESPECIALLY THE SIKH ISSUE, THE CLASHES IN KASHMIR, AND INDIAN CANCELLATIONS OF PLANNED MUTUAL VISITS INCLUDING ITS FOREIGN MINISTER'S TRIP TO PAKISTAN IN AUGUST. THE PAKISTANI DCM ALSO SUGGESTED THAT INDIA HAD PLAYED A ROLE IN THE SOVIET LAST-MINUTE CANCELLATION OF FOREIGN SECRETARY NAIK'S PLANNED TRIP TO MOSCOW LAST WEEK. THE CHINESE AGREED THAT MRS. GANDHI APPEARED TO BE TAKING A HARD-LINE APPROACH TO INDIA'S POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH BOTH COUNTRIES. CHINA SEES NO LIKELIHOOD OF ANY BREAKTHROUGH ON THE SINO-INDIAN BORDER PROBLEM DURING TALKS SCHEDULED FOR MID-SEPTEMBER, BUT WILL CONTINUE TO HOPE FOR REAL PROGRESS FOLLOWING AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURAL ISSUES AT THE LAST ROUND. CHINA DID NOTE PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS IN THE SINO-INDIAN RELATIONSHIP, ESPECIALLY TRADE, DELEGATION VISITS, AND INCREASED CULTURAL CONTACT.

CHINA, THE SOVIETS, AND EASTERN EUROPE:

8. WU SAID THAT VICE MINISTER QIAN'S VISIT TO MOSCOW INDICATED THERE WOULD BE NO MAJOR SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON THE THREE OBSTACLES PREVENTING NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. HOWEVER, CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE MAKING GOOD PROGRESS IN ALL OTHER FIELDS, INCLUDING TRADE. CHINA IS ALSO VERY ENCOURAGED BY THE INROADS IT HAS MADE IN EASTERN EUROPE. ELSEWHERE, EVEN MONGOLIA HAS SIGNED AN AGREEMENT FOR JOINT PATROLLING OF ITS BORDER WITH CHINA. (HERE PAKISTANI DCM INTERPOSED PERSONAL COMMENT THAT VICE MINISTER HAN XU HAD TOLD HIM THAT MONGOLIAN VICE FOREIGN MINISTER DURING A VISIT HERE HAD BEEN EFFUSIVE IN HIS PRAISE OF CHINA AND FULL OF ENTHUSIASM FOR THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SINO-MONGOLIAN RELATIONSHIP.) CHINA IS ALSO ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT FUTURE RELATIONS WITH CUBA, WHERE ASSISTANT FOREIGN MINISTER ZHU QIZHEN WILL SOON BE VISITING. ALL IN ALL, CHINA FEELS IT IS MAKING PROGRESS WITH COUNTRIES THAT HAD FORMERLY HELD BACK FROM FEAR OF SOVIET DISPLEASURE.

KOREA

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9. BOTH THE CHINESE AND DIEGO CORDOVEZ TOLD YAQUB THAT NORTH KOREA WAS IN NO MOOD TO COMPROMISE IN ITS PRESENT POSITIONS, BUT WOULD LIKE TO HAVE INCREASED CONTACT WITH THE U.S. AND WITH SOUTH KOREA. WU REITERATED TO YAQUB CHINESE SUPPORT FOR THE TRIPARTITE FORMULA FOR TALKS, BUT SAID IT WAS CLEAR SOME TIME MUST PASS BEFORE TEMPERS SETTLE DOWN BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH. HE SAID THAT JOINT U.S.-SOUTH KOREAN MILITARY EXERCISES WERE "NOT VERY HELPFUL" IN CREATING AN ENVIRONMENT FOR PEACE; THEY WERE

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 LIKELY TO BE MISINTERPRETED BY THE NORTH.  
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## INDOCHINA:

10. THE CHINESE SIDE SAID CHINA DOESN'T FAVOR ANY GROUP IN THE KAMPUCHEAN COALITION OVER THE OTHERS, AND WOULD BE HAPPY TO SEE ANY GOVERNMENT THAT HAD THE MANDATE OF THE PEOPLE RULE IN KAMPUCHEA AFTER A UN-SUPERVISED ELECTION. CHINA DOES NOT FAVOR AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAYDEN'S PROPOSALS; CHINA BELIEVES HE IS A PARTISAN AND FINDS PRIME MINISTER HAWKE MORE BALANCED IN HIS VIEWS. CHINA ALSO SUPPORTS THE JAPANESE PLAN, JUST REVEALED AT THE ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING, TO FINANCE PEACE-KEEPING EFFORTS AFTER A VIETNAMESE WITHDRAWAL FROM KAMPUCHEA. THE TWO SIDES TALKED BRIEFLY ABOUT VIETNAM, WITH WU COMPLAINING THAT VIETNAM HAD LAUNCHED AN "ALMOST DIVISION LEVEL" ATTACK ON THE TWO MOUNTAIN STRONGHOLDS OF LAOSHAN AND ZHEYINSHAN HELD BY CHINA. THE VIETNAMESE WERE REPULSED, BUT CHINA BELIEVES VIETNAM WILL CONTINUE TO FLEX ITS MUSCLES AS LONG AS THE USSR IS PUMPING IN ARMS.

## HONG KONG:

12. ASKED WHY CHINA HAD SET A TIME LIMIT OF 50 YEARS ON ITS PROMISE TO MAINTAIN HONG KONG'S SOCIAL SYSTEM AFTER 1997, WU SAID THAT CHINA EXPECTED TO CATCH UP WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD IN PER CAPITA INCOME BY 2050. BY THAT TIME, IT WOULD BE EASIER TO INTEGRATE HONG KONG FULLY INTO CHINA UNTIL THAT TIME, CHINA WOULD BE WILLING TO SEE HONG KONG WORKING ON ITS OWN EXCEPT FOR DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. (NOTE: THIS APPEARS TO BE AN OVER-SIMPLIFICATION OF THE CHINESE NEGOTIATING POSITION ON HONG KONG). WU EXPRESSED DISPLEASURE, BUT NOT BITTERNESS, AT WHAT HE CALLED "ANTI-CHINA" PROPAGANDA IN THE "RIGHT WING" PRESS OF

HONG KONG. HE SAID SUCH COVERAGE COULD BE BLAMED ON THE EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY WHO HAD NO REAL INTEREST IN HONG KONG THEMSELVES. CHINA WAS NOT ATTACHING THAT MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE PRESS COMMENTS, WU SAID.

13. PAKISTANI EMBASSY BRIEFER HAD STEADFASTLY AVOIDED ISSUE OF ALLEGED NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH CHINA. WHEN EMBOFF RAISED THE SUBJECT, PAKISTANI DCM CLAIMED THAT THERE IS NO NUCLEAR COOPERATION "AT PRESENT" BECAUSE OF THE BASIC DIVERGENCIES IN THE ORIENTATION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES' NUCLEAR PROGRAMS. SPECIFICALLY, CHINA HAS FROM THE BEGINNING CONCENTRATED ON THE MILITARY USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AND LACKS SOPHISTICATION IN PEACEFUL USES. BY CONTRAST, PAKISTAN'S PROGRAM IS DEVOTED TO PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ENERGY WHERE CHINA COULD NOT BE OF ASSISTANCE. IN FACT, ANY ASSISTANCE IN PNE SHOULD REALLY BE GOING THE OTHER WAY, THE PAKISTANI BRIEFER SAID. HE REPEATED HIS FORMULA: THERE IS AT PRESENT NO SINO-PAKISTAN COOPERATION

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IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD BECAUSE OF THE BASIC DIVERGENCIES IN THE PROGRAM. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF'S QUESTION, HE SAID THE CURRENT CONTROVERSY OVER SINO-PAKISTANI COOPERATION HAD ARISEN IN THE TALKS, BUT IN THE CONTEXT OF SINO-U.S. RELATIONS. HE SAID THE CHINESE EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE PROPOSED NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT INITIALED DURING THE REAGAN VISIT HAD BEEN PUT ON THE BACK BURNER IN

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WASHINGTON. WU SAID THAT CHINA WOULD LEAVE THE MATTER TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND WILL WATCH CLOSELY TO SEE HOW IT IS THRASHED OUT.

SINO-U.S.:

14. WU TOLD THE PAKISTANIS THAT CHINA VALUES ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. AND IS HAPPY WITH THE PROGRESS MADE, ESPECIALLY SINCE SECRETARY WEINBERGER'S VISIT IN 1983. CHINA WAS VERY SATISFIED WITH THE REAGAN VISIT AND DESCRIBED THE NUCLEAR AGREEMENT AS THE MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT. WU COMPLAINED TO YAQUB ABOUT THE AMERICAN SALE OF C-130'S TO TAIWAN. HE SAID CHINA WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT THE ARGUMENT THAT THE PLANES ARE NOT LETHAL WEAPONS, BUT THEY DO REPRESENT A QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT OVER WHAT WAS SUPPLIED BEFORE.

PRESS COVERAGE OF THE VISIT:

15. AS EXPECTED, THE TWO SIDES SAID NOTHING TO THE PRESS ABOUT THE QUESTION OF ALLEGED NUCLEAR COOPERATION. THE BANQUET TOASTS AND REMARKS TO JOURNALISTS EMPHASIZED THE CLOSE AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, CHINA'S "GENEROUS" SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN, AND THE TWO COUNTRIES' COMMON STAND ON THE AFGHAN QUESTION. BUT ANOTHER POINT THAT THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE AT PAINS TO MAKE PUBLICLY WAS THAT THE BILATERAL FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION "WAS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY COUNTRY," I.E. INDIA. YAQUB IN HIS BANQUET SPEECH SAID THAT, ON THE CONTRARY, "EACH OF US HAS INDEED ENCOURAGED AND SUPPORTED THE OTHER IN ITS EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE AND IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH A THIRD COUNTRY."

HUMMEL

END OF MESSAGE

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*Washington Post*  
*wednesday, 1 Aug 84*

## **Chinese Ambassador Criticizes Delay in Nuclear Pact**

Los Angeles Times

Zhang Wenjin, China's ambassador to the United States, has strongly criticized U.S. delays in approving the nuclear-cooperation agreement that was initiated during President Reagan's visit to Peking last spring, terming the U.S. conduct an insult to China.

Zhang said in an interview yesterday that U.S. conduct in recent months has shown "a mistrust about China which challenges our honesty."

Although China seeks a nuclear agreement with the United States, he continued, it could live without one.

The proposed nuclear-cooperation agreement would clear the way for China to obtain U.S. nuclear technology. It also would enable U.S. corporations to bid on construction projects, worth as much as \$20 billion, for several nuclear reactors that China is planning.

Although the two countries reached tentative agreement on the nuclear pact in April, the administration never submitted the pact to Congress for approval.

Instead, it has been seeking new assurances from China that it is not cooperating in nuclear-weapons technology with Pakistan or other nations.

During the interview, Zhang poked fun at Reagan's description of his country as "so-called Communist China." In May, at the end of his China trip, Reagan said that he was pleased by "the injection of a free-market spirit" into China's economy.

"I don't know what conception President Reagan had about a communist country because he had never been to any communist country before he came to China," Zhang said. "This was his first approach to the reality of a communist country, so apparently what he saw is different from what he thought."